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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tẽ'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

[773] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyoi'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos ču'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as

[177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tẽ'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto dauerų'kị of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ɛvënị"kị of Igarapé da Rita, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tẽ'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

Weapons.—War weapons are the bow, vɛra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow,
411 kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va:'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tụpe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé do São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by
[727] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

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648 statue, rolled over the edge and disappeared with it in the waters of the igarapé. Even today the
173 song of the drowned statue may be heard sometimes.
726 All the Tukuna now gathered together at dyumaritʲ', awaiting the Omágua. They came two days later in great numbers and attacked with arrows. The battle was hotly disputed, the warriors standing sometimes ankle deep in blood. The Tukuna killed many Omágua on the battlefield and killed others during the retreat; those who escaped foundered in the whirlpool at the mouth of Igarapé de São Jeronymo and were drowned.

At the battlefield the earth became spongy with the worms feeding on the bodies, and sank; [the depression] may still be seen there today. The worms were later transformed into little acará fish.

648 Another time, the Omágua assaulted a festive gathering of the Tukuna, this time
726 far up the Igarapé de São Jeronymo in the vicinity of Igarapé dyu'/na. At the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, the Tukuna had placed guards, who repelled the Omágua while these were fighting the crosscurrents at the mouth of the igarapé.

713 Once, the Tukuna set up an ingenious booby trap (fig. 9) at one of their own
726 houses at which they expected an attack. Anticipating the arrival of the Omágua, they cut two assahy palm trees with thin and very elastic trunks, fifteen to twenty centimeters in diameter, so long that they stretched from one of the two doors of the house to the opposite one. On the outside of the house they tied one of the trunks (*c–d*) firmly at the posts of door A in a horizontal position a meter and a half above the ground; they tied the other trunk (*e–f*) at the posts of door B in the same way. They then bent trunk *c–d*, pressing it against the outer house wall, and held it at point *c*, beside door B, with a loop of cipó passed through the wall. In the same way they set trunk *e–f*, bending it and securing it at *f*. This completed, all shut themselves inside the house to await the arrival of the enemy.

Espying the Omáguas' approach through cracks in the house wall, they waited until the enemy were all inside the yard and surrounding the house, and then they cut the cipós simultaneously at *c* and *f*. Tied now only at one point, the elastic trunks, with a strong backlash, returned to their normal straight positions, *d–d'* and *e–e'*, knocking down and wounding many of the enemy.

727 Unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna never took prisoners or kept trophies from the enemy dead.

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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.